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College Governance

A proposal for change in the governmental structure of the college was considered by the Governance Committee at last week's meeting. The main thrust of the proposal is toward streamlining and simplification to prevent unwarranted drain on time and energy of participants in the governing system.

It was presented by Chairman of the Committee Associate Professor Nicholas Clifford and Professor Richard Turner.

The two major changes proposed call for a Governance Council which would be the primary legislative body of the school and would replace most of the standing student-faculty committees, and a Council on Educational Policy (CEP) to assume the functions now shared by the Educational Policy Committee and the Curriculum Committee.

The Governance Council would replace the present student government and the aspects of governance which are now taken care of at Faculty meetings. It would also concern itself with such problems as Admissions policy, Library policy, questions of student government; including naming of student committee members, student discipline, student activities budget, responsibility for publications — students' and otherwise; questions of athletic policy, questions of on-campus recruitment, choice of honorary degree recipients, and questions of faculty benefits.

The Council would essentially be a combination of the present College Council and Faculty Council composed of 10-15 members; faculty, student and administration.

The CEP would be of similar size and would be concerned with all questions dealing directly with the curriculum, with the exception of questions of tenure and teaching staff, which would continue to lie within the province of the Faculty Council's Subcommittee on Tenure and Reappointment, and the Teaching Resources Committee.

The proposal calls for a Priorities and Long-range Planning Committee. The PLRPC would act as an advisory board to the President on such questions as: major changes in direction of the college, major changes in physical plant and the choice of a new President. The committee, to be made up of representatives of the CEP and the Governance Council together with administrators, would keep questions of priorities and direction of the College under continual review.

Under the proposed system the faculty would continue to meet alone to ratify actions of the CEP. The question of whether or not to retain some sort of student assembly is left open.

It is explained in the proposal that, "The recommendation made here would result in the establishment of several very influential bodies in the running of the College, taking over a great deal of work which is now handled by a number of committees and council. Note that while the principle of **representation** would be fully maintained, there would be less **participation** than there is at present, in the sense that fewer people would actually be concerned in the decision-making process."

In discussion of the proposal it was suggested that the burden of working on one of the proposed committees might warrant some sort of compensation. It was suggested that teachers

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Faculty and Senate

Open Faculty Meeting Proposal

The faculty stayed action December 1 on two proposals liberalizing the structure of the presently closed Faculty Meetings. The proposals were submitted by the Faculty Council and the College Council, and grew out of a Student Senate proposal of last spring. The faculty could not act until its meeting next month, because the proposals require a change of a rule which declares the faculty meetings "confidential."

The Faculty Council proposed that meetings be closed to all students except for participation by the officers of the Student Senate when College Council business is on the floor of the Faculty Meeting. The College Council recommended that meetings be open to a limited number of auditors and that a "core group" of ten students be allowed to speak at all faculty meetings.

The faculty devoted its meeting to full discussion of the two proposals. It could not take action under its rules of procedure. These rules require that a change in rules be put on the floor at the faculty meeting previous to the meeting in which the change is voted upon. Information on faculty meetings has long been available through inquiry. Thus the rule on the confidentiality of the meetings would probably not be a major hurdle.

The Faculty Council rejected the idea of student auditors, arguing that they would change the nature of the faculty meetings. The College Council reaffirmed its stand in favor of auditors by a 4 to 3 margin, with one abstention, at its December 1 meeting.

The College Council's resolution came after Dr. Turner, a member of both the College Council and the Faculty Council, reported on the Faculty Council's recommendation to the faculty. No student auditors would be allowed under this recommendation, though Officers of the Senate could participate in meetings when College Council business was on the floor. Dr. Turner argued against auditors, suggesting that they would influence the spontaneous nature of Faculty Meetings. He felt that if student auditors were allowed, faculty members would be reluctant to speak on an unprepared basis, thus eliminating the informal flow of ideas.

The College Council rejected Dr. Turner's argument 4-3 with one abstention. Under the motion, sponsored by Karla Baehr, it agreed to propose that a limited number of seats be available to student-auditors on a first-come, first-serve basis. Two seats would be reserved for the each of two student news media (WRMC and **The Campus**). Karla argued that students could then check on the accuracy of the news media, and could provide a means for continuity within committees, since students could understand the machinery and discussions of the committee before they became members. The College Council proposed the same measure last Spring, and the Faculty subse-

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Student Senate

The student Senate passed a motion Sunday night calling for greater integration of co-educational living facilities on campus. The motion called for the establishment of more men's and women's dorms on either side of College Street, through the conversion of existing dormitories, and for the investigation of the possibilities of establishing actual coeducational dorms on a voluntary basis.

The sponsor of the motion, Marshal Forstein said that it was essential for the student to make known their views on this topic — even though the college administration had already made moves in this direction by revamping the old Chemistry Building to serve as a women's dorm, and thereby establishing a men's section in the New Residence Halls.

Sandy Daignault, a member of the Student Life Committee, reported that there is already a committee looking into the possibilities of establishing co-educational dormitories, exploring not only the best methods and which dormitories to use if the plan were implemented, but also the feasibility of the idea in general.

Obviously, if such a dorm were established, the College would have to know beforehand if there would be enough interested students to fill it. Once this was found, it would be necessary to establish a special room-draw procedure, onewhich would differentiate between

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Oi Talks on Draft

By ERIC SAMP

Prof. Walter Oi of the University of Rochester stressed the economic advantages of a volunteer army in the Stratton lecture Monday.

The draft, he feels, is unfair to the individual and expensive to the economy. With the draft, a select number of individuals are forced into service and a financial penalty is imposed upon them. In addition to the inequities implicit with this system, the "real" or "opportunity" cost to the public is measured by the absence of military personnel from the civilian economy. Therefore if military wages were to be increased there would be no real cost to the economy as a whole, but only a more equitable material distribution.

As long as wages and benefits are low there will be relatively few volunteers. A survey taken in the fall of 1968 by the Dept. of Defense of all first-term men who had enlisted in the armed services found that 54 percent would not have done so had there been no draft.

More than 80 percent of college graduates who enlisted would not have. A higher and generally revised wage scale presumably would improve this situation.

The new draft lottery offers no solutions to these problems, and possibly intensifies them. The individual still must make a financial sacrifice, and so his incentive for enlistment is no greater. Those with low-priority birth dates who normally would enlist if threatened by the draft, will ignore the military entirely. As a result, the draft calls will eventually increase, encouraging more rapid turnover of men and less efficient defense spending.

Prof. Oi outlined the plan for a volunteer army. After the Viet Nam war the armed forces will have to be maintained at 2.0 to 2.5 million men. With the present draft system and projected turnover rate, the draft call would be about 450,000 men per year. With the projected turnover rate of a volunteer army there would be a need for about 330,000 men per year, 16-17 percent of all eligible males. This need is attainable if the wage scales and working conditions are improved.

Prof. Oi found three major objections to this plan and characterized them as emotional objections. Some say that a volunteer army would be an "army of the poor." (This is the position of Senator Edward Kennedy.) But Prof. Oi claimed that we already have an army of the poor, and that we penalize the poor when they serve

Continued on page 5

YOU Fund Raising-Plans

By PETER LEWIS

Y.O.U (Youth Opportunity Unlimited), coordinated by Dale DeLetis, is a summer program in its third year, entirely staffed by Middlebury students, which offers thirty black ghetto children, ages 11-13, from the Prince Street School in New Haven, an opportunity to develop "self-confidence."

The program runs for six weeks on the Middlebury campus with funds coming entirely from outside contributors and from Middlebury students through Y.O.U. movies, bedmaking service on Friday afternoon, poetry readings, and fund raising campaigns.

The typical counselor-camper ratio, reduced to 2:1, offers each student a close contact with a staff member and a more varied program between scholastic and outdoor activities. Morning classes are devoted to Drama, Science writing and Black History; in the afternoon, each student goes with a counselor for non - scholastic activities: arts and crafts, athletics, field trips and overnight camping trips.

During the present school year, Y.O.U. is making plans for the summer and also engages in a follow - up program in which counselors go to New Haven twice a semester to see their former students and continue the summer activities.

According to Delrita Hunter, Student Coordinator of Y.O.U, each student lives in a community where cultural differences do not matter and where all existing values are challenged. He learns new techniques in developing free expression and communicating with others through experiences outside the classroom which relate to society and open the student's eyes to a new understanding of his environment.

Money is still needed to insure the continued success of the program and many fund-raising events are being planned — a ski rally, flower sale, car rally, poetry readings and others — which will need the support of Middlebury students.

Student Senate

Continued from page 1

those who wanted to live in a co-ed dorm and those who did not.

In addition, there is also a report that the French Department is planning to have men live in the Chateau, possibly starting next year.

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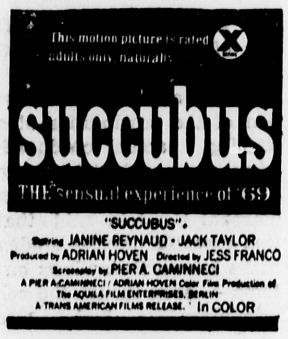
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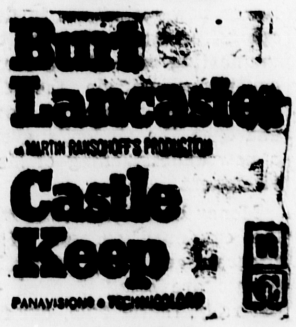

7 & 9 P.M.

Thoughts On The Draft And Other Atrocities

By STEVE EARLY

The lottery system has turned the draft into a national bingo game. Where Selective Service once worked stealthily—its inequities seen mostly in the quirks of the local boards—now it's all out front with live drawings, quiz show drama, numbers, dates, capsules, blindfolds, extensive radio, TV and press coverage.

The winners, as usual, are the Pentagon and the Nixon Administration both of whom need at least 540,000 men a year to pursue their war of aggression in Vietnam. The losers are still all of us who happen to be in the 19-to-26 age group.

19-Year-Olds

Starting next year, the system, which already discriminates against the young, will go after the youngest of all, the 19-year-olds who supposedly make the best soldiers. Needless to say, not all 19-year-olds will have to worry — just the poor and uneducated ones. Despite the efforts of Sen. Edward Kennedy and others who wanted to end student deferments, the new method of selection does not affect the status of undergraduates.

The Nixon administration, like Johnson's before it, has noticed that the draft contributes greatly to campus unrest. It is ironic that college students, who can dodge the draft legally for four years and often longer, should be more concerned about it than the ghetto blacks and white working class youths who are forced to serve in their place.

But if 2-S classifications were abolished, unrest would undoubtedly become revolt; the great silent student majority would be forced to move from passive disapproval of the war to active opposition; conservative college-parents would become peaceniks overnight.

Choices

For those on campus who are actively opposing the war already, a student deferment represents a decision deferred. The choice between serving and refusing to serve, the possibility of jail or exile — all of these things seem faraway and a little unreal when you do not yet have to face them.

The horror of Vietnam and the criminal injustice of the draft becomes real only occasionally. It is there, nevertheless, and you could see last week in LIFE just as you could earlier this year when the magazine printed the photographs of all the Americans killed in one week of fighting. The most striking thing about the soldiers pictured in that issue was their age. Almost all were 19, 20 or 21.

They were kids, barely out of high school, or not even graduated, just like those being drafted and trained everyday; trained and then thrust into a confusing, frustrating jungle war. Draftees whose average age is 20 — they are the ones who are given the orders that were given at Song My and it is they who return home with a stub instead of a foot and the memory of what it was like to shoot down women and children.

Unwelcome Development

It was not always this way with the draft. The practice of limiting war-time conscription to youths in the 19-to-26 age group is a relatively new and unwelcome development in American history.

During the Civil War and the First and Second World Wars, men between the ages of 18 and 44 were all subject to compulsory military service. In the post-WW II period, a peacetime draft was maintained, relying primarily on youths between the ages of 18 and 22. Thus with the sudden outbreak of the Korean War, a youthful draftee army was all that was available. For the duration of the conflict the draft was never extended to older men, the result being the precedent for Vietnam.

Bringing the War Home

Just as the abolition of student deferments would provoke increased opposition to the war among students and their parents, the extension of the current draft to include all males between 18 and 45 would certainly bring the war home for the married and middle-aged millions who've had such fun rooting from the sidelines.

Suggesting that this be done on a lottery basis, Edwin Fancher, in a Village Voice article last May, noted that in America's previous wars older men have made excellent soldiers. They are physically capable of combat duty (North Vietnam drafts men up to 45) and, in a time of supposed national need, their lives should be no less subject to disruption than those of college-age youths.

Fancher observed also that such a change in the draft law would be "an invitation to many Congressmen, board chairmen and editorial writers to get out into the front lines and personally kill communists, if that's what they really want to do. The National Rifle Association alone should be able to contribute several volunteer divisions of crack sharpshooters for our infantry."

The Draft and Vietnam

The answer in the end is not to subject more people to the draft but to eliminate it altogether. This and the creation of a volunteer army were among the many things promised by President Nixon when he was running for office last fall. With possible drawbacks of its own, a volunteer army is unthinkable as long as nearly 500,000 men are tied down in Vietnam.

The Nixon administration is working on that one, though. The strategy behind its policy of "Vietnamizing" the war is to withdraw over half of the present U. S. force and then keep as many as 200,000 troops there on an all-volunteer basis for an indefinite period.

The men to be withdrawn are primarily combat troops; they will go gradually as the South

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News Shorts

N. Y. C. Fellowships

The Sloan Foundation supports a program for 20 students to serve full-time, wide-ranged internships in city government, from fine arts to engineering. The students would have to have completed at least their junior year. They would be given academic credit at Middlebury (arrangements to be made through the Administration Committee). The stipend is $3,500 plus a grant from Middlebury. Application deadline is January 31st. See Dean Wonnacott.

New Social and Eating Units

The College Council Subcommittee in charge of the Social and Eating Units decided last Monday not to open the buildings until all three units are finished. One of the three units is about three weeks behind the other two. Thus the entire building will probably open near the end of the Winter Term, or the start of the Spring Term. The Subcommittee felt that it would be impractical to open the building until it was completely finished. All upper-class students not eating in fraternities or off-campus will eat in the new units. Freshman will continue to eat in Proctor.

Governance.

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might be relieved if all non-teaching duties and student members of the 4-course requirement.

The idea of a college convocation, or a joint faculty-student meeting was discussed as a way of increasing the knowledge and awareness of everyone about college issues.

It was suggested that it would be desirable for President Armstrong to have more contact with students.

At the same meeting Professor Clifford gave a summary of a letter he had sent to Mr. Douglas Meredith, the chairman of the Trustees' Committee on the Role of the Trustee. The letter mentioned the problem of communication — identified as the major source of student discontent, the possibility of more meetings of student or faculty committees with the trustee committee on matters of joint concern, and the possibility of publishing the actions of the Board of Trustees with the rationale behind the decisions. The letter also suggested changes in the composition of the board, including the addition of younger members or members of minority groups, and the desirability of continuing the practice of life membership on the board.

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— NEWS SHORTS —

Programs For Students

The **Campus** has recently received information concerning various programs available to students. The Metropolitan Museum of Art is planning a special weekend for college students on December 19, 20, and 21 to enable students to take part in a day-long program of activities, and to study the Centennial exhibition, "New York Painting and Sculpture: 1940-1970." There is also information concerning jobs abroad, a junior year in Sweden, and a Mexican Academic clearing house. If you are interested in reading further about any of these topics you may pick up the material at the information desk.

Meeting With Trustees

The College Council will meet with the Undergraduate Life Committee of the Board of Trustees at 4:30 p.m. Friday in the Sunderland Room of the library. The discussion will center on the quality of student life at Middlebury, with specific discussion of the quality of life in a residential college, the drug problem, and the fraternities. No decision has been made as to whether the meeting will be open.

Together . . .

Continued from page 9

"Custeristic" tendencies of RYM II (the Weathermen), and a national dirty-name, any action the SDS takes is more or less doomed from the very beginning, just because it is SDS that is doing it, regardless of any justification.

There is as a result a void in the activist subculture. Perhaps the best one can do now is to try to avoid completely falling into Nixon's hands and concentrate instead on issues, though less glamorous, related to the campus and the community, trying to educate rather than alienate. Perhaps this means a return to the electoral process. It is very easy to advocate violence, but if violence only plays into the hands of the Establishment to retard the "Revolution" (if you will), then, perhaps further militancy should wait.

There are now 57 colleges and universities throughout the country participating in the Army Flight Instructor program as part of their regular ROTC program.

Thoughts On The Draft, Other Atrocities

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Vietnamese army attempts to do more of the fighting. Nixon is hoping that U. S. casualty figures will be lowered by this maneuver and anti-war opinion at home will be sufficiently pacified to allow extended military involvement on a reduced basis.

According to his plan, the troops that remain in Vietnam would provide the Thieu-Ky puppet regime with continued air, artillery and logistical support. The cost of this "Korean-type" solution would still amount to 12 to 15 billion dollars a year; and it is of course, no solution at all to the essentially political struggle which America, and the French before us, lost a long time ago.

Defending the Empire

Even if Nixon were to succeed in reducing the level of U. S. forces in Vietnam to a point where they could be maintained on a volunteer basis (hopefully the American people and the Viet Cong will not let him get away with it), there would still be the rest of America's anti-communist empire to defend.

And that job currently occupies 1.2 million men out of a total U. S. armed forces of 3.46 million) stationed in 33 countries and foreign possessions where we maintain 2,270 military installations (not including Vietnam), 340 of which the Pentagon designates as major installations.

(The figures are from a recent "Congressional Quarterly" survey of U. S. commitments abroad which was quoted in the Nov. 3 issue of I. F. Stone's Weekly.)

Until the U. S. begins to reappraise its role elsewhere in Asia and throughout the world, the draft and the great burden it places on American young people will not easily be eliminated.

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Antigone hears Thebes' decision not to bury her brother, Polyneikes.

(Photo: Atwater)

Resolution . . .

Continued from page 1

quently sent the measure to the Faculty Council for a recommendation. The College Council, in effect, reaffirmed its position and rejected the arguments of the Faculty Council. The voting was as follows: For — Baehr, Jones, Kelly, Hooper; Against — Bornstein, Turner, Peterson; Abstained—O'Brien. Early said later that he would have voted for the resolution, and Cabot said he would have opposed the resolution.

The College Council also opposed the Faculty Council's plan to limit student participation of the Senate Officers only to meetings when College Council business was on the floor of the faculty. It defined its resolution of last Spring so that the "core group" would consist of ten students who would be allowed to speak at all Faculty Meetings. The plan passed the College Council 7-0 with one abstention. The students would be the Officers of the Senate (four), the students on the Curriculum Committee (four) and on the Educational Policy Committee (two). There did not appear to be any serious opposition to such a "core group," though the Faculty Council had earlier rejected the idea.

The College Council approved the Order Document with modifications in four areas: 1) the College Council would be the committee to deal with campus disorders; 2) proxies may serve for members of the College Council who are involved in the situation under discussion; 3) only the President of the College and the Chairman of the College Council may call meetings on a "disorder;" 4) that the College Council "use all appropriate means" to offer regular, factual reports to the College community. The Document now goes to the faculty for approval.

Carnival

This year's Klondike Rush at winter carnival will follow a different pattern from that in previous years. The Carnival committee was faced with the problem of finding 'big name' entertainment for the budgetted $5500. This proved impossible: "The only rock groups that perform for less than $6000 are those who have yet to make a record" a spokesman for the Committee commented. As examples he mentioned that B, S and T costs $15,000, Santana, $10,000; Chicago Transit, $7-8,-000; Smith, $7-8000. Thus in order to break even we would have to charge around ten dollars a ticket." Instead of the usual (past) practice, Carnival will this year sponsor a dance on Friday night with two bands and on Saturday night, a concert. The concert will feature one artist and will have "a realistic admission price."

Professor Oi . . .

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in the military under the present system. The proposed system would eliminate this inequity.

Others object that this army would be a "mercenary army." But the volunteer army doesn't try to compete with civil economy — it tries to end the unfair financial penalty of serving in the armed forces. There is also some question as to the flexibility of a volunteer army. Can it be mobilized quickly?

Prof. Oi argued that with a large scale draft an army cannot mobilize quickly. Its effective force actually reduces while training the large number of draftees. A paid, pre-trained army reserve is his answer to this. Finally, Prof. Oi blamed the lack of public education for the retention of the draft system.

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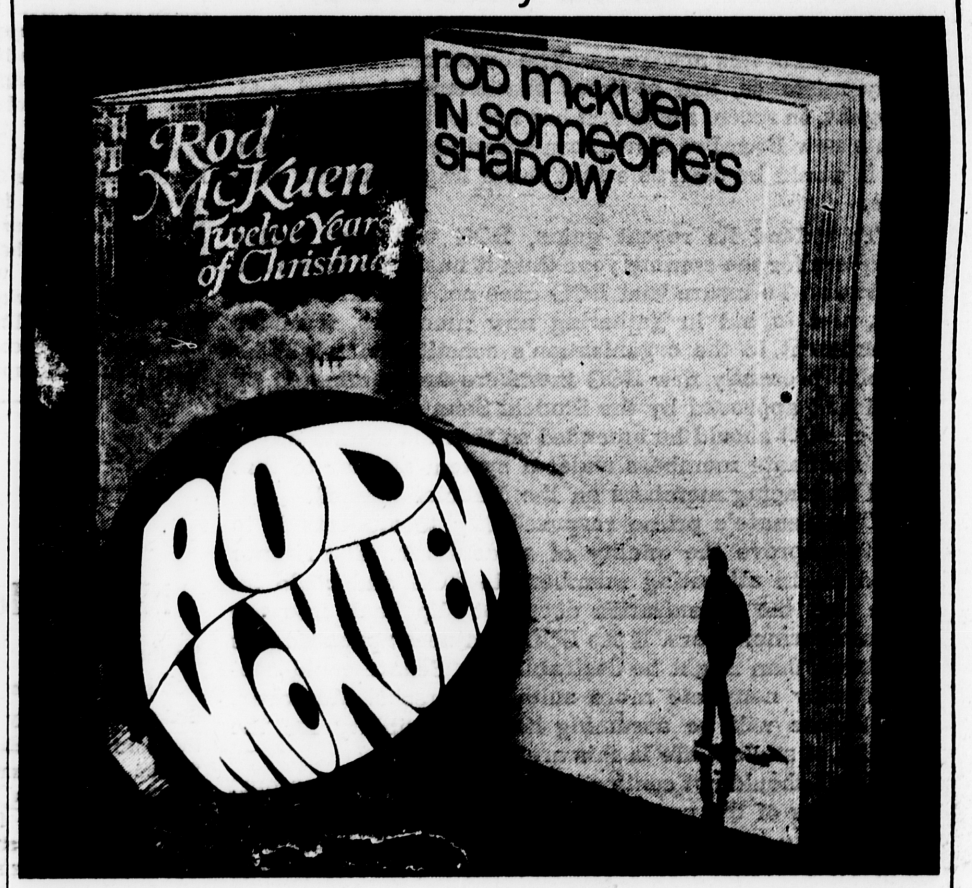

Twelve Years of Christmas

These are Rod McKuen's special words of Christmas: holidays spent not only near the holly and the ivy, but on Forty-Second Street, in the fields and on the beach, in love, waiting for love. Watching twelve years go by Mr. McKuen has put them down for all of us to know and remember.

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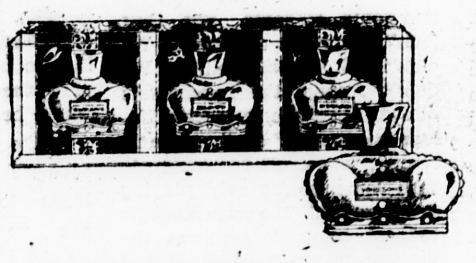

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EDITORIALS

The Alumni News Letter

After repeated protests many students (some of whom undoubtedly reached his office) Gregor Hileman persisted this fall in putting out another shoddy publication that tried to pass itself off as The Alumni News Letter. This summer, all who read the magazine were presented the substance of two interviews with "student leaders," presumably, representatives of the student body. The substance as presented, however, was in the opinion of both students, grossly misleading. Simultaneously erroneous facts were printed about a number of students and faculty organiations or movements.

The latest issue of the News Letter, compounded the problem with a selection of overtly racist humour, signed by the editor himself. We hope that the Alumni will not take the editor's misguided sense of values to corrspond to the broad spectrum of student values at Middlebury.

The editor has complained of lack of student cooperation in his (for it certainly appears that way) enterprise. This is hardly surprising considering the supercillious attitudes he demonstrates towards students.

The students of this college have a right to be represented clearly and truthfully to the Alumni. The College, relying as it does on Alumni funds, owes it to the Alumni to give a clear and truthful account of itself, especially the students.

There are certain other problems with the News Letter which involve the reporting of financing and the news and opinions of the faculty, which are equally important.

We would be the last to deny that editorial decisions must be made — decisions of what to include or what to cut, what to solicit and what to avoid — but in the case of the newsletter, when the responsibility is so great to so many people a greater leeway than has been evident in the last few issues must be forthcoming.

There are many alternatives open for the administration or the Student Senate or whoever is responsible for the conduct of the news magazine to take. We hope that one of them will be taken soon and that the quality of the Alumni Magazine will improve quickly.

Board of Governors

The Board of Governors has come under attack in past issues of this newspaper. The organization has made many mistakes, and at times has seemed isolated and arrogant. In recent months, it has improved considerably. With a new Board of Governors scheduled to replace the old, it would be desirable that these improvements continue.

To extend its recent gains, BOG will need better members for the coming year than it has often been able to attract. To insure that BOG does not lose its momentum, and to aid in gathering new members, a minor amendment to the organization's constitution might be timely: presently new BOG members are nominated by BOG and approved by the Student Senate. The constitution of BOG should be amended so that the Senate might also nominate members under a system similar to that used in placing members on the Judicial Council.

The Senate's prime responsibility to students is to try to improve the quality of student life. The Senate could aid in attracting members to BOG and could insure that the organization does not slip back into the ways of former years. If the BOG nominees appeared less luminous than might be desirable, the Senate could constructively nominate more suitable persons. Moreover, the Senate will be assuming its responsibility for the quality of student life in this area.

BOG should not continue to be virtually autonomous. The lapses of the past have proved that BOG should be made more responsible to the student body. Both BOG and the students would benefit from the insurance this amendment would provide. Any lesser change would allow return to the mistakes that once abounded.

T. H.

The Campus

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Biafra Book Review: The Speeches and Thoughts of Gen. C. Odumegwu Ojukwu

"Biafra: Volume One, Selected Speeches of C. Odumegwu Ojukwu; Volume Two, Random Thoughts of C. Odumegwu Ojukwu." Both by C. Odumegwu Ojukwu, General of the People's Army. Harper and Row, New York. $12 per volume in hardcover.

Editors note: John Akpan comes from Uyo, South East State, Nigeria, one of the three states in the secessionist region of Biafra. Before coming to Middlebury in 1966, he studied at King's College in Lagos, Nigeria. He is studying geology at Middlebury, and is a member of the Pan-African Student's Organization in America, and also edits the quarterly magazine, The Nigerian Journal.

By JOHN AKPAN

Two books, which hardly deserve that name, have been tossed at a public apparently insatiable for the bizarre by the PR agents of Biafra. Not even their expertise succeeds in giving them some sort of coherence to the issues raised therein, and the books remain what the second title purports them to be: random, no, chaotic samplings of Odumegwu Ojukwu's fantasies.

The historian who might have hoped to learn from these books what actually happened in Nigeria from 1966 to 1967, will be disappointed. Perhaps psychologists trying to probe the mental dimensions of the self-appointed prophets of the "Black Revolution," a title Ojukwu frequently assumes for himself, will find good research material here. Other than that the books are the hot-stuff which their compilers hoped would fetch a little quick cash. Their combined price ($24.00!) confirms this. They would be expensive at a tenth of that price.

Several things recorded in **Biafra** are simply not true. Others of great importance go unmentioned. We learn from Ojukwu that he made the fantastic discovery 15 years ago that the

". . .colonial state generates a colonial posture. This posture automates a series of complexes which remain with the African long after the Colonial stimulus has ceased to have direct impact. . .the remoteness of the stimulus is often misinterpreted as nonexistent, thus generating a false sense of security in the minds of Africans lately out of bondage. . ."

This discovery presumably impelled him to set about the process that would "liberate" the African, a process which he identifies as consisting of "first, understanding of himself, his psychological disability, then his enemy, the colonial master. I believe the black man will not emerge until he is able to build modern states based on a compelling African ideology."

Strange edfellows

No wonder Ojukwu has such strange bedfellows as South Africa and Portugal, who all along have said the same thing: that the African cannot build a modern state, and therefore should not be granted political independence. In other words, you will not be free until you can build modern states. Since you cannot build one now, we will not let you try; you must build modern states by remaining non-self-governing.

The amazing thing is that Ojukwu admits that these views "remain today, substantially unchanged." Why not? For a clue one needs to study Ojukwu's biography: born 1922, son of a business millionaire, he went to Epson College, a "reputable British Public School," at age 14; graduated from Oxford University at 22 with an M.A. degree in Modern History; joined the Nigerian Army in 1957 at age 24; went back again to England the same year and one year later was instantly appointed Compny Commander of the Fifth Battalion of the Nigerian Army — at age 25!

Two significant facts emerge: first, Ojukwu's father was one of the richest, (if not the richest), men in Nigeria. As such he was able to buy his son not only a social position among the British upper class but also the youngest command ever held by anyone in the Nigerian Army. And note that by 1958 Ojukwu had never seen combat duty! And yet he was "promoted" above several Nigerian veterans of WWI and WW II.

Formative Years

Secondly, Ojukwu left Nigeria at 14, to return at age 24. He thus spent ten of his most formative years away from home, sheltered from the harsh realities of hunger and malnutrition which has been so rampant in Africa. Any wonder that he should be so adept at exploiting the starvation of our people in 1969 to obtain his political aims? Ojukwu was in Ghana in 1959, in the Congo (1961-62) and in England again in 1962! Altogether Ojukwu had spent 16 of his 18 adult years before the coup of January 1966, abroad.

Any wonder that he should have been out of touch with the masses of Eastern Nigeria and their aspirations? It is difficult to lead a "revolution" if you do not understand those you are leading, and they do not understand you.

With this background in mind, it becomes easier to perhaps sympathize with Ojukwu's tragedy, though not with Ojukwu himself. In fact both volumes of **Biafra** should be read side by side with Frantz Fannon's **Black Skin, White Mask** and **The Wretched of the Earth** to grasp the full dimensions of Ojukwu's tragedy: an M.A. graduate in Modern History from the world's greatest university, who believes that the road to the liberation of the black man passes through Lisbon, Washington, D. C. and Peking!

Ends and Means

As John Dewwy has said (in **Human Nature and Conduct**), "It is willful folly to fasten upon some single end or consequence which is liked, and to permit the view to blot from

Continued on page 9

Seven Against Thebes Presented

The recent performance of "Seven Against Thebes" directed by William Sharp was the product of a conscious attempt to utilize "formality of language" and ritual as vehicles for the dramatization of a play in which, "defense is almost a religious ceremony rather than an actuality."

Physically and emotionally, the drama centers upon a citadel to which the frightened women of Thebes have retreated, hoping to invoke divine aid against the approaching Argive hordes and the seven captains who have sworn an oath to storm the gates of Thebes. The play is not concerned with battle itself, but rather with the possible outcome of conflict eventually realized in the deaths of Eteokles, ruler of Thebes and his twin Polyneikes, leader of the Argives. Military action remains peripheral, brought to the consciousness of both the female Theban chorus and the audience through the periodic reports of three messengers. Conflict exists only in the chorus' projected image of its occurence and through the use of shields as symbols of the seven Argive captains.

Mr. Sharp attempted to overcome the problems posed by the dramatization of a play in which action is articulated rather than visualized, by employing ritual as a metaphor for action. This emphasis upon ceremony was conveyed through the use of a stage starkly dominated by a simple arch representing both temple and gateway into the city. It was also expressed through the beating of drums suggesting the "pulse of fear" gripping the city, by the masks of the characters, painted shields, and finally, through a deliberate stylization of movement.

Ritual effectively structured operates as a vehicle of abstraction. The framework which it establishes may allow participants freedom of both action and observation; they are simultaneously a part of the structure itself, and creators of that structure. In ceremony, action and the image of action are fused, the enactment of ceremony is united with the results of that enactment.

Ritualistic action in "Seven Against Thebes," was often ineffective, largely because it was utilized incompletely. It did not operate as a metaphor for action, but rather as a vague description or echo of that metaphor. Frequently it limited and inhibited the presentation of the principal issues of the play, through inadequate attempts to crystallize those concerns in a rigid pattern of enactment. This inhibition was evident in the performances of David Kunhardt as Eteokles and Ellen Donkin in the role of chorus leader. Performers seemed to be caught between an attempt to suggest ceremonial representations of action and their own desire to convey the emotional effects of that action upon the characters they portrayed. More often than not, the result was a stylization of movement which approached awkwardness, or a subdued emotionalism which appeared to be disporportionate to the forces which produced it. The audience could neither be moved to emotional involvement, nor entranced into greater consciousness by the passionless performance of religious ceremony.

The most effective moment in

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David Kunhardt as Eteokles (Photo: Atwater)

Dannhauser Speaks About Nietzsche

By SKIP GREEN

In a profound and perhaps arrogant tone, Nietzsche has eclipsed western philosophy. He argues in **Twilight of the Idols** that since the days of Socrates, western man has been duped with "that most bizarre of all equations. . .reason, virtue, and happiness." Last Friday evening to a near full house in Dana Auditorium, Werner J. Dannhauser, professor in the department of Government at Cornell University, articulated this most unusual philosophical diatribe in a lecture entitled "Nietzsche's Image of Socrates." The lecture was sponsored by the Political Science department.

Rationality has been western man's burden since Socrates first introduced it as a solution to the wantonness and anarchy of the instincts so prevalent among Ahtenians. This may sound bizarre as a statement of historical origin (and no doubt Nietzsche intended it to be crude), but Nietzsche felt that 'reason' deserved little else.

Intellectual Decadence

The fanaticism of rationality, "the hypertrophy of the logical faculty," has imprisoned western man. It has been the cause of man's intellectual decadence. It has impeded man from transgressing all values and from ascending to the order where "will to power" is the only command.

Professor Dannhauser traced the origins of Nietzsche's critique of Socrates. He outlined Nietzsche's theory of pre-socratic art. First Apollonian art came in response to man's philosophical or theological need to make bearable the "abysmal reality." Apollonian art hid this reality from man. In turn it has transcended by tragic art which confirmed the abyss of life by affirming the suffering of life. Then along came Socrates.

Summarizing the Nietzschean conclusion, Professor Dannhauser said, "if the pre-socratic Greeks had a peak, then tragedy was the peak of peaks. And it was precisely this peak that Socrates leveled. The socratic view of art was that art was merely a didactic instrument to teach morality to children. For Socrates the tragic met his doom by some flaw of judgement." He failed because he had not utilized reason, logic and his intellect to their fullest.

For Nietzsche this conclusion was unbearable. As professor Dannhauser pointed out, "for Nietzsche art was a mode of knowing. It was a method of expressing the inexpressible." For Nietzsche the tragic man is doomed by self-perfection. He is doomed because he is continually confronted with a malignant reality which tears at this perfection.

Gotterdamerung

Professor Dannhauser went on to show that for Nietzsche "what is highest is not accessible by reason nor can it be communicated by reason." This follows logically from Nietzsche's thesis "God is dead."

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Letters To The Editor

Non-Dialogue

To the Editor:

It seemed to me the lack of dialogue so clearly revealed in the film **High School** was reflected and continued in the lengthy discussion among the viewers after the film. In too many remarks, students and teachers (including myself) simply failed to grasp the other side's experience. Frequently, teachers were blindly defensive, and many students were "offensive" (double meaning intended). We weren't talking to or with each other but at each other. We didn't use the film as a point of departure to discuss our own problems. Instead, by our actions we illustrated a basic problem pointed to in the film.

I think teachers probably left the discussion more bitter or disappointed and frustrated, and students probably left more convinced about the hopelessness of meaningful change.

The film itself wasn't divisive — it could have produced good dialogue — but our response to it was, I think, genuinely divisive. This kept us apart and possibly pushed us further apart.

However, there were some attempts at dialogue. I remember some genuine, open, and searching remarks by some teachers and some students. But they didn't carry the discussion. We didn't talk to each other. We didn't respect the genuineness of each other's experience: "Unless you accept another man's reality, you can't communicate with him; you're only playing word games." Too often students refused to grant teachers the validity of their concerns and fears; and teachers refused to grant students the validity of their experience.

I mean to point to what seems to me a simple, drastic problem: unless teachers want increasingly to oppress students or students to destroy teachers, we've got at least to talk to each other.

I think the major responsibility for this failure lies squarely with the teacher in the classroom; for the most part, he fails to talk to, with, students; instead he talks at them. He fails to accept the validity of students' experience — to accept the students' reality — and even help them express it to him. In this way, it seems to me, he fails to learn from his students. Might not a teacher wonder how long and hard he has sat down and talked frankly with individuals and groups of student about their views and his; to try to acquire a sense of where his students are and where he is in relation to them?

In the absence of this, it seems that too often a teacher tends to think that studens are no doing what they should be doing. He evaluates, judges, even sometimes fears them and their behavior — anything but accept it and THEN begin to teach: to relate in any of numerous possible ways what he is teaching to where his students are. As things are, too often a teacher "passes his knowledge on" to students without knowing where they are. Perhaps especially today a teacher must begin (not remain but begin) with people where they are; not begin with a conception of where he thinks they should be.

Students have both got to be brave enough to talk with teachers — to break out of that crippling, passive "student" role — and at the same time grasp the notion that, like any person, the teacher may have difficulty talking with you. It's especially hard for a teacher to admit, particularly to a student, that he may not really understand what's going on these days.

But we don't even talk to, with, each other. We're too busy "teaching" (talking at) and "learning" (sitting on our asses). We're supposed to be teaching and learning and we don't even talk to each other. It's not the size of this place that keeps us from talking to each other, it's our conceptions and beliefs about what teaching and learning are supposed to be; and it's the way we organize our lives at this place such that talking to each other is extremely difficult.

It seems however that this is a kind of problem that people can do something about, if they will.

Barton Parks

Racist

To the Editor:

I wish to call here for the immediate resignation of Mr. Gregor Hileman as Editor of the Middlebury College News Letter, and if that is not forthcoming, his dismissal.

By what stretch of the imagination does Mr. Hileman consider that his position as Editor of the News Letter gives him free rein to insert such racist, vile "humor" as his "quiz" on Page 93 of the Autumn issue? He goes beyond mere bad taste into the gutter.

Mr. Hileman has likely struck a resonant chord in many of the Alumni, at least in those who are also worried that perhaps black people in this country have had enough of this kind of hidden racism. By making sick, twisted jokes about a deadly serious subject, Mr. Hileman has failed to live up to his responsibility as Editor of the News Letter.

Mr. Hileman should not be wasting his talents here at Middlebury; he is far better suited to the John Birch Society or the Ku Clux Klan.

Dan Gillmor

Opinion

Bringing Us Together

BY BOB METZGER

Driving back from Washington, I couldn't help wondering if we had really accomplished anything more substantial than mass self-gratification. Sure, there were more than a quarter of a million people there, ostensibly all for peace, but so what? President Nixon chose to spend November 15th watching a football game on television, and we later learned that the always-benevolent Justice Department had decided to prosecute the March leaders for allowing people like David Dellinger merely to get on the stage and urge people to march on the Justice Department. It all seemed a little bit ridiculous: hundreds of thousands of people demonstrating down the street from the White House and the President watches TV. An Administration that had once promised to bring about a "lowering of voices" had now closed its ears.

Perhaps the most serious question that followed the demonstrations was one of future tactics. Given that this great non-violent protest produced no tangible results, outside of further aggravation, then the question which plagued many people was one on the merits of the whole technique of non-violence as a means to gain these "radical" (as the Administration likes to see it) political objectives. Even Middlebury students, who have never occupied the forefront of the student activist movement, began to wonder, once the Washington experience was over, whether during the next demonstration they too would go down with a helmet and a gas mask. To some it seemed apparent that the next step — the next demonstration — could hardly be so peaceful. Nor were they sure they wanted it to be. If these kinds of expressions cam out of usually different Middlebury students (and they really did) then what are the real radicals thinking?

It appears that the Nixon Administration has decided to renounce its former conciliatory policies in favor of trying to make political gain by polarizing American society. So far, it appears that this somewhat mercenary strategy is working. After every demonstration the polls show that the President's popularity has risen, at the expense of three groups, which numerically represent a very small part of the population, but politically, in the eyes of the "Silent Majority," represent a huge ogre of menacing dissidence ravaging the true virtues of America. These dangerous elements are "the students," "the blacks, and the "Eastern liberal establishment," which includes the Press, television, and other major media.

"Some folks are born made to wave the flag
They're red, white and blue
But when the band Plays Hail to the chief
They'll point the cannon at you. . ."

By polarizing the great mass of American society against

Continued on page 9

Basketball Bounces Off To A Fast Two Win Start — Walters Pleased

By NAT AYER
And JIMMIE BROWN

The Middlebury basketball team is off to a rampant start this winter, and all because of an experienced five, and Coach Gary Walters, perhaps the youngest college coach at age twenty four.

They won their opener, beating Union 81-72, the first time since 1955. This also marked Walters' first college victory. Lee Cartmill played excellent tight defense against noted Jim Tedisco, holding him to only a few points in the first half. Jimmy Keyes and Gene Oliver dominated the boards, with Keyes leading Panther scoring with 23 points. Cartmill followed, with 21 points.

Their next game found them playing at Trinity, and much to the dismay of Trinity lovers, the Panthers solidly defeated them 86-75. Flanagan was excellent, beating defending guard Howie Greenblatt consistantly for thirty points. Co-captain Gene Oliver was more than instrumental in this win, scoring twenty points, six of them in crucial three points plays, keeping Middlebury well ahead when Trinity began to close the margin.

Mr. Walters was pleased by the team's offensive output. He said he couldn't give any comparative information either on the team itself or opposing ones because he has not been acquainted with the league. He could say that the offense was working the ball well, setting up the good shots, and not shooting wildly.

He felt that the defense had to do some more work, that there was room for improvements. But he qualified this by saying that they've had to switch from a zone to a man to man defense, and this takes some getting use to.

Comments from an Ex-Star

These comments were taken from a conversation with Jimmie Brown, who watched the Union game. Jimmie played freshman basketball three winters ago, and was a fine player in his own right.

"Worked a great man on man offense. . .offense well drilled, good give and go plays, worked well off Oliver and Keyes up high on the post. Keyes' hook effective on the low post. . . Cartmill and Flanagan set up offense effectively. Fairly deliberate, but not sleep inducing (which was characteristic of other Midd teams that were "coached" by that departed man). . .Oliver and Keyes strong off boards, surprisingly so though, because they were at a definite height disadvantage. . . Coach Walters' time outs were called at proper times — twice Midd recovered from Union threats after consulting with the coach. . .other times to spell weary minds and bodies. . .The man to man offense employed obviously helped to prduce the victory, but the defense was responsible for making Union commit costly errors that resulted in many fast-break baskets and easy lay-ups. . .

PLEASE HEED THIS CALL. BASKETBALL AND-OR HOCKEY SPORTSWRITERS NEEDED. ALSO ANYONE INTERESTED IN BEING SPORTS EDITOR NEXT YEAR OR THIS SPRING. PUT A NOTE IN BOX 643, TO NAT AYER.

Panthers Puck-Up Again

Middlebury varsity hockey got off to a great start this season when they ran over MacDonald and CMR during the Thanksgiving recess in Canada. The team is better than last year's, boasting a number of experienced veterans and several freshmen. Co-captain Dave Pierson feels it is a faster, more aggressive club than the '68-'69 team headed by Peter Montori. Dave also is pleased by the unity, something lacking last season. "We're playing more as a team. Our spirit is high." He attributed the three losses to letting up after developing a big lead. Apparently the whole team's morale picked up after the close loss to a heavily favored Army team, mainly because they know now that they can do a good job out on the ice.

In the 6-1 rout against MacDonald, the season opener, co-captain Brian Iggulden broke a 1-1 tie in the first period with the first of his three goals. Dave Pierson, Roger Knowles, and Dave Norton scored the others.

The following day it was again Iggy that notched the winning goal. The play against CMR was sluggish in the first period, but with only a few minutes remaining in the opening stanza, Dave Norton, a sophomore who played regularly last year and one of the best on the team, popped in a goal. The other scorers were freshman Chris Burr, Rick Kelly, Norton once more, Pierson and Jim Glynn.

The next game was a 5-7 loss to AIC. Norton again opened the Panther scoring, Iggy adding one in the first period. Jim Hurd opened early in the second, but the lead was shortlived, as AIC came busting back to hurt Midd with three goals in two minutes. Jim Glynn broke this tie in the second, and the Panthers led going into the third. Soon, AIC tied it and after ten minutes they got another, and then two more. Gary Valby put in Midd's last goal with a slapshot with ten seconds remaining in the game.

Going to Hanover to meet Division 1 team Dartmouth, the Panthers built up a good 3-1 lead, dominating play especially in the second period. With Grove Nichols, freshmen Steve Kitman and Steve Anderson supplying the goal power Middlebury led 3-2 going into the third stanza. Despite the superb goaltending of Van Wert, who blocked 39 shots successfully, the Dartmouth lines netted three in the third, and Midd fell 5-3.

The Army game was the best yet by Middlebury, as they held a 1-1 tie until the 1 1-2 minute mark of the game, when a spooky, slow deflected shot slid by Van Wert for the Army victory. Even though the team has lost three in a row now, it seems a better team than last year's, and will most likely improve their previous mediocre record.

By JOHN RAGAN

Volleyball 305.1

Senior Odyssey

If you will recall, last week we were discussing the historical development of power volleyball at Middlebury College. Starting in the fall of 1966 Midd was emerging as a major power on the east coast. Towering at its zenith was the DTO squad. This was the first team to practice the dig and was so consistent in both offense and DEFENSE that they stopped cold even the legendary spikes of 100 miles an hour Barnes Boffey. Those who remember this epic figure will also recall that his graduation that year was to submerge KDR as a threat for two years. In fact it was to the freshmen of that year that KDR turned for a renovation. Yet it really goes without saying that within the entire freshman class of Starr and Hepburn were some of the greatest players of this decade. Even as freshmen, Hepburn's mighty squad grabbed for the title and almost achieved it. A group of mortals who has never before played together united into a jeweled movement. But on the dreary night of Dec. 14, they were forced to settle for second place as half their team was stricken with the then unknown "HONG KONG" bug. Some claimed it was slipped into their water by the DTO's, but no one knows for sure.

In third place was ZP, with the newest member of the spike dynasty, Steve Darling. Yet somehow this team in prophetic manner managed to lose to powerful Starr, from whom most of this year's players came. Probably the best ever to visit Midd was Mark Mathews of that Starr team; however, the next year he set sail for the golden shores of California never to return again. So it is also true that some of the best never played again: Mark transferred as did half of the Hep team leaving only Art Johnson and Jay Cooper.

With new referees the tide at Middlebury was definitely changing. Mike Blount and another kid from California began to eliminate much of the garbage which had hitherto existed. In fact it might even be said that the COLLEGE shone on this experiment in athletics. It was the faculty which tried hardest to adjust to the concept of power volleyball; and with the help of Mr. Kelly in the spring of '69 all equipment was replaced. As for the players and teams involved, DTO was still numero uno but there are those who say ref. Charlie Beall was a member of the old school of play and was calling the game for another era. In spite of the outcome it was obvious that PKT was a new power and had definite prospects. Hadn't they beaten Steve Darling and ZP, and wasn't he graduating that year? Yes they had, but this was not to be the whole story.

In the fall of '68 PKT began a program which enabled them to do what no team before them had done, get 138 participation points in volleyball. Not only did PKT play 12 men as opposed to the usual 6 but their average score for the '69 season was 15-5.

Finally we come to what could be the closing of an era at Midd, 1969. This year the freshmen teams, as of three years ago, were fantastic. And the elimination of half of the scheduled teams due to forfeits and apathy separated the wheat from the chaff, leaving only the dedicated. Although it would be impossible to cover all the developments of this year I will mention a few. As the season closed, a flurry of new developments arose. The Faculty began to show up with 6 players and was the most improved team around. Both Freshman teams tied for fifth place and had they been more unified might have taken first place. Hep contained a number of tall trees such as Kenlan, Hazelton, Collister, and Canade as well as much classics as flying wedge Jeff Stone and Hopeless Gene Hill. Stewart, too, had its share of greats such as Spike Bailey, dig Bayer, hands Wilson. DU proved to be one of the strongest teams in spiking but weakest in defense. KDR found a way to beat this problem and had they had one more spiker, might have downed PKT, number one team second year in a row. PKT's strength next year will lie with such stars as Bruce Weeks, Zuroff, George Barr, Engles, Gasink, Barber, Steele, Goodwin and George Barr. Finally, the ZP downfall came with an inexperienced group of setters and a problem with night seminars.

As is the custom I have listed the ALL BUSH team members, and since there is no offense and defense as such there are two teams.

First team: Coach Conway, Ducey Jones, Tom Reis, Yunk, Mihalik, Purinton, Motolanez.

Second team: Coach Bailey, Skelley, Gayer, Warfel, Westerman, Artemus Johnson, Streicher.

Fellowship

Applications for George Ellis Fellowships for advanced study at Columbia University are now being accepted. The deadline is January 12, 1970. The fellowship is offered to graduates of a Vermont College and advanced, non- professional study in Political Science, Philosophy and Pure Science or for the professional schools of Arts, Architecture, Business, Engineering, International Affairs, Journalism, Library Service, and Physicians and Surgeons. The Fellowship pays tuition and fees, a stipend, and a travel allowance. For information and applications, write to the Director of Admissions of the Columbia division of your interest.

Generous Bequest

In a surprise move last week, Middlebury College President Emeritus, Highfield J. Purton, announced the bequest of all his holdings in Standard Oil plus a substantial sum of cash (estimated by some observers to be in excess of $3 million) to the College. In order to have access to the funds it will be necessary, however, for the President and Fellows to enact some sweeping changes, both academically and socially. Purton, who was President of the college from 1936 to 1940 and then retired to take a more active role in business and politics, specified in his will that the college should develop a major in Business administration, that the present requirement system should be enforced with mandatory courses in Mathematics and Economics and that the lax moral behaviour of the students, "notably in the areas of sex and drug abuse. . ." be curtailed.

Read on Skip. . .

President of the College James I. Armstrong said in an exclusive interview last night, that "The College, of course, must act quickly on this matter. It is a matter which affects every student; and it will affect all incoming students. We have here a possibility of vastly expanding the resources of the college and we must be careful to exploit this gain to the full. It will mean that we will have to look a little differently at the activities of a very small minority of students, but I am sure they will not mind once they know that it is for the good of the community."

Asked what specific proposals he would make to bring the college into line with the terms of the bequest, the president said, "As yet we have little definite to say, but we can be sure that the present laxness in the dorms will cease. This is something that has been bothering me for some time. Our relations with the town have certainly suffered as a result of some of the activities on campus. Now, with the college unified behind this generous grant, we have a magnificent opportunity to ameliorate these problems."

Tortoise shell combs are made from the shell of a tropical marine turtle.

Opinion: "Bring Us Together - - Forward Together"

Continued from page 7

these highly visible groups, the President has much to gain. Understandably, he is concerned about his political power, and he probably hopes to create through this polarization enough support to ensure his re-election in 1972. What Nixon is trying to do is to break up the old Democratic coalition, which traces back to the New Deal, and replace in its stead a new Republican majority, a coalition based more on fear than on anything else.

The "silent majority" is, apparently in the view of the President, more susceptible to slogans than to programs. Thus while the Nixon Administration does little to cure the problems pressing the country, various spokesmen for this new order continue to come out with remarkable deeds and words to further play upon "America's middle." Dissidents and demonstrations are something that the majority of America cannot understand. To them things have always been pretty good, and they can't understand why people would want to challenge these tried and true values and institutions. They fear the militancy of "the students" and "the blacks," without realizing that these tactics do not indicate the real nature of these groups. Nixon, of course, is more than willing to court their fears, especially since the voting strength of the "out's" comprises little more than a small minority — 25 percent at most.

For example, in recent weeks we have seen VP Spiro Agnew call demonstrators "impudent snobs" and have heard him berate much of the nation's press. Such actions have left the dissident snobs aghast, have led George Wallace to label the Vice-President a "copy cat," and have caused much of America to admire the man who made the statements in the first place, and, by implication, his boss, the President himself.

The Justice Department, once the bastion of civil liberties, has now taken a decided course aimed at repression, as statements by Attorney-General John Mitchell indicated during the November demonstrations. His verdict that the demonstrations were of an overall violent nature is one that much of America probably agrees with, and thus it is not really inconsistent for Richard Kleindeinst, a Nixon-Mitchell aide, to announce the intention of the Department to prosecute the Mobilization leaders, regardless of the fact that no one was seriously hurt in the demonstrations, that few were arrested, that the violence was confined, even in the opinion of some of the Administration's more enlightened members, to a very small minority. Apparently the country agrees with Mitchell though, since the President's popularity continues to rise.

The President seems more than willing to accept what is a short term political gain at the expense of dramatically heightened alienation. Nixon is almost sinister in his quest for political power — he tries to charm the conflicting parts of his majority (even the Silent Majority has its internal disputes, one would suspect) with the guise of misleading rhetoric. It is all at the expense of a few people — but these are the militant people, and they are not likely to take this abuse gently.

I see a bad moon rising
I see trouble on the way. . .

Thus for political gain Nixon is implicity asking for and condoning violence. For with every demonstration the unresponsive government will find more and more violence — for violence is the easy way for the dissenters to express their rising bitterness. This, of course, is just what Nixon wants. The more violence, the more borderline "liberals" that will be driven into the all-encompassing folds of this emerging majority. The more polarization. While the dissidents become more militant Nixon gains more and more support. Thus the President is encouraging, accepting, and using the violence that is almost sure to follow the heightened tensions these policies are equally sure to bring. One can hardly see anything promising about this possible progression of events, if the President does carry through with what he has begun. There will come a time when the dissident minority will shrink no further, neither in numbers nor in deed, and it will be at this moment that America might become little better than two warring camps, for when the Left turns fully to violence it is likely to be greeted by, as Stewart Alsop terms it, a "ferocious Right-wing reaction" that even Nixon could not control, and which would lead the United States into the final danger of ultimate repression.

The confrontation politics of the Nixon Administration can hold little but a tormented future before America should they continue. But nothing in politics is ever really certain. Who foresaw in 1965 what would happen to Lyndon Johnson? He cracked under the pressure. Perhaps the pressure, magnified as it will be, will prove too much even for Nixon, who somewhere beneath the plastic and the image of the ultimate political animal is indeed a human being, or at least a reasonable facsimile thereof. Really, anyone who could bring up two daughters like Tricia and Julie can't be all bad. . .or can he?

I fear rivers overflowin'
I hear the voice of rage and ruin. . .

Already these policies are taking effect, and their influence has been felt even here at Middlebury College. If the March itself did nothing else, it heightened the awareness of a great number of people that there are things wrong with this country, and that there is more to the problem that Vietnam. Vietnam is only a symptom of the overall disease — it is not a "mistake" at all. And now that the March is over, these students question the future — and wonder about the productivity of non-violence. They may be playing into Nixon's hands, but at least they are aware and want to do something. Sooner or later, unless Nixon's policies are utterly successful, these are the kind of people who are going to lead this country, and perhaps they will remember the lessons of the past.

Hope you have got your things together
Hope you are quite prepared to die. . .

But what now? The newly nourished student activist feels that he should take action broader in scope than campus involvement but at this moment there is no viable student organization other than SDS, the viability of which is subject to question and the effect of which is minimal at best. Plagued by factionalism, the over-publicized

Continued on page 4

Biafran Book Review: Thoughts of Gen. Ojukwu

Continued from page 6

perception all other undesired and undesirable consequences. . It is not possible adequately to characterize the presumption, the falsity, and the deliberate perversion of intelligence involved in refusal to note the plural effects that follow from any act."

Having decided on "liberating the African from "his enemy, the colonial master," Ojukwu could care less about the consequences of his methods. "The end justifies the means," even if the means to "self-determination" involves the death of over one million human beings, most of them from starvation.

Ojukwu's foreign adventures make interesting reading. First, he tried to blackmail Britain into granting Biafra political recognition by demanding oil royalties from the Government owned British Petroleum Company. That ploy failed because the British, after 99 years of colonial rule in Nigeria, knew the powers-that-be in Nigeria better than Ojukwu ever could, and were convinced right from the start that Ojukwu could not take the East out of the Nigerian Federation.

If he had studied his modern history well, Ojukwu might have expected that the American people with the memory of the 1960 Congo mess and the fact of Vietnam fresh in mind, were not going to goad the U. S. government into recognizing Biafra — Ojukwu's anti-communist, anti-Arab rantings not withstanding.

Failing to secure American or Russian support, he darted off to Peking for help against "British imperialism and Russian revisionism." Nowhere in either volume is it mentioned that on July 30, 1967, Biafra Radio had made the following broadcast in an effort to secure Russian sympathy:

"Gowon wants to tarnish the image of the Soviet Union in Africa by dragging it into a foreign war. . .there is no basis for meaningful association between the progressive socialist government of the Soviet Union and the reactionary clique of renegades in power in Lagos. . .Gowon must not be allowed to drag the high reputation of the Soviet Union with it to the bottom of the ocean." (Quoted from **Africa Report**, Feb. 1968: Six Views of the Nigerian Civil War).

The high reputation of the Soviet Union! Yet Ojukwu tells us in Volume Two of **Biafra** that he spent "as a Nigerian, two of my most important years trying to track down Russian involvement in Nigeria. When I was the number two man there in the security committee, our major task was to track down Russian influence. . ." A brownie point from Senator Thomas Dodd!

The interventions of France, Portugal, South Africa, etc. are too well known to need elaboration. Why should 33 of the 37 independent African nations support Nigeria against Biafra? Ojukwu offers no answer. Why does he refuse to allow daylight flights to his people? How can he call de Gaulle "great" with his policy of arming South Africa, or stationing French troops in Chad, Niger, the Central African Republic, etc. and conducting nuclear tests in the Sahara? How can he tell the world that he has no expansionist ambitions, after the glowing self-praise of his victories in Mid-western Nigeria.

But then, would I say that the Biafra Syndrome was all bad? Far from it. By being his obstinate self, Ojukwu has succeeded in forcing the polarization of the forces at work in Africa. Because of Biafra, a long over-due sense of national purpose has arrived among Nigerians, and the other African countries will now listen more closely to the voices of their minority elements.

Most important, the war has, hopefully, demonstrated to the so called big powers that Africa is not going to remain virgin territory in international affairs in the next decade.

Our civil war will end, and Nigeria will win. A unified Nigeria will be a force to be reckoned with in Africa, and hence in the world. Ojukwu will go down in history as Nigeria's Tshombe, who loved his "colonial masters" too well, and tried too hard to impress them. For example:

"To be an African means to be handicapped. The old African was considered at par with the animal. The present African is considered somewhat sub-human. We are hoping. . .and trying very hard to prove to the world that the African is a man. . ."

Ojukwu tried to prove the unprovable. Therein lies his tragedy.

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Thebes . . .

Continued from page 7

the play occurs when Ellen Donkin almost voicelessly envisions the possibility of the defeat of Thebes:

O terrible, before a woman is ripe,
Without accustomed procession, accustomed song,
To go the awful road from her own home
Under the sword's compulsion. I say the man
Who dies in battle is better off than this,
For when a city is doomed to armored rape
Blades flash in the firelight; murders throng
The streets.

As the chorus leader speaks, two warriors appear and reenact this symbolic rape with two women in the chorus. This scene is very powerful because the audience is accutely aware of the physicality of the human body, and the possibility of human conflict.

The translation used in this production is rich in sexual metaphor and sensual description. The attempt of the Argives to storm the gates of Thebes is described as, "the shame of penetration." Enslaved Theban women will be "forced to spread before the sweating captor," who will "defile" the motherland. Eteokles and Polyneikes are fated before birth to a "consummation in death:"

Sperm-linked, twinned in the seed, united
In wrath and loveless strife,
These rivals went to school their killing hatred
In the first waters of life;
In bowels and belly, in the narrow tubes
Of birth they nursed their wrath. . .

The victory of the Argives is synonymous with the rape of Thebes, and this seems to be a deliberate attempt on the part of the translators to link the fate of Thebes with the actualization of the curse of Oedipus upon the sons of his incestuous relationship with his mother. This aspect of the translation is almost non-existent in the 'religious' ceremony of the play. Perhaps if ritual had been used as an instrument for the expression of action, rather than a substitution for action itself, the performance might have involved both audience and performers. Ceremony establishes a framework for dramatization only when it is carried to an extreme, only when it can be viewed as an unambiguous translation of emotion into abstraction, and only if it expands the definition of conflict by confining the conflict itself consistently. "Seven Against Thebes earnestly attempted this, sometimes successfully, but finally the performance seems to have sacrificed message for the sake of method, and content for form.

ATTRIBUTES CONTRIBUTING TO CAREER SUCCESS

Attribute	Rank
Volume of Publication	1
School at which doctorate was taken	2
Having the right connections	3
Ability to get research support	4
Quality of Publication	5
Textbook authorship	6
Luck or chance	7
School of first full-time appointment	8
Self-promotion ("brassy")	9
Teaching ability	10

This chart appeared in American Political Science, A Profile of a Discipline, by Albert Somit & Joseph Tanenhaus (1964, the Atherton Press, N.Y.). It was compiled from the responses of members of the American Political Science Association, when they were queried about the factors they considered important in "getting ahead" in their profession.

Talk On Nietzsche . . .

Continued from page 7

In his introduction to **Twilight of the Idols**, Nietzsche states "this little essay is a declaration of war; and regarding the sounding out of idols, this time they are not just idols of age but eternal idols." Nietzsche argued that with the death of all transcendent truths, the necessity for reason would diminish, "Reason is the cause of our falsification of the testimony of the senses. In so far as the senses show becoming, passing away and change, they do not lie. . .the apparent world is the only one; the 'true world' is merely added by the lie."

The notion of a 'true world' is a fable which reason has created to justify its own existence. Socrates, according to Nietzsche, employed reason destructively. Socrates was the founder of this despotic reign.

But Professor Dannhauser went on to point out that this diatribe is only the prelude to Nietzsche's own philosophy. Nietzsche did have a new vision — the will to power. But Nietzsche felt that this mode of behavior — the act of overcoming which could be distilled into the equation happiness equals instinct— could surface only if reason and rationality were deflated and returned to their rightful place beside the instincts.

Transvaluation

Is Nietzsche's 'superman' attainable? The question is debatable, for Nietzsche left little in the way of a political or social program. Nietzsche implies that an understanding of his philosophy is sufficient. Yet Professor Dannhauser raised the problem, and correctly so, that there are obvious connections between the rise of fascism and the Nietzschean 'super state.' Although this connection is still a moot issue, it does implicate the worthiness of the 'transvaluation of all values."

HONG KONG SANTA

In Hong Kong, there is a Santa Claus, but the name is different. Everything else is much the same, however, as "San Tan You Lin" is found in many department stores, specially costumed for the season, and quick to hold a youngster on his knee and listen to a list of Christmas gift requests.

What fireworks are to the Fourth of July, a doll of her own is most every little girl's idea of a happy Christmas.

Davis Aide Barred?

The President and the Dean of the College have neither confirmed nor denied published reports that a youth advisor to Governor Deane Davis was asked to leave the Middlebury campus because some members of the college community objected to Davis' political views.

In statements to the Burlington Free Press last week, Kenneth Parker, chairman of the Governors' Student Affairs Commission, said that he was asked to leave the campus last spring by a student and a faculty member who were disgusted by charges that Davis made about an alleged anti-ROTC conspiracy at Middlebury and one other Vermont college.

Contacted Sunday night, President James Armstrong reported, "I don't know anything about it." However, Armstrong did recall, Davis' remarks about an anti-ROTC conspiracy last spring and the brief controversy caused by them.

Dean Dennis O'Brien stated that he was not even aware that Parker had been on the campus anytime last year. O'Brien said he would be surprised if any students had told the youth official to leave the campus.

Parker mentioned the alleged incident at a press conference last week concerning a high-level job shuffle on Governor Davis' staff. Over the protests of many liberal Republicans in the state, Davis removed Charles K. Butler, chairman of the Vermont Federation of Young Republicans, from his personal staff as a result of Butler's anti-war views and his participation in the November March on Washington.

Butler will now join Parker as a director of the Student Affairs Commission, a group set up to improve communication between state government officials and college students in Vermont. Parker made his statement about Middlebury to substantiate his view that Governor Davis is quite unpopular on Vermont college campuses.

"Agnew is so stupid that he can't walk and chew gum at the same time."

Mickey Mouse just started wearing a Spiro Agnew watch.

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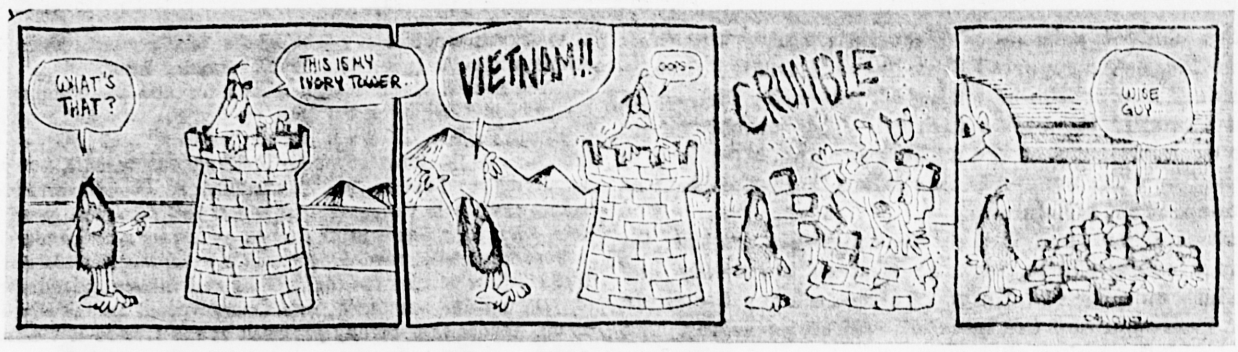

Foundations and the University

reprinted from Ramparts

If in the period of its origins the university was heavily dependent on foundation support, it was no less so in the period of its growth. As the university system expanded and non-foundation sources of income became available for endowment and building funds, administration and teachers' benefits, and other areas in which the foundations had played a pioneering role, the foundation directors began to shift their sights towards the new areas of innovation and growth. As the above-cited former division director of the Rockefeller Foundation put it, foundation funds were now "increasingly reserved for new and presumably venturesome undertakings which, once they had proved their worth, would be taken over by the universities' general funds." It was precisely the availability of foundation funds for the "growing edge' 'of knowledge "for experimenting with new educational methods, developing research programs, and demonstrating the value of new knowledge," that made it possible for the foundations to maintain their guiding role in the shaping of higher learning in Amercia. For with few exceptions, and until very recently, foundation funds were the only significant monies available for nonmilitary organized research and institutional innovation in the academic world.

The ability of the foundations to dominate the margins of growth in the university system was viewed with a critical and prophetic eye by Harold Laski, shortly after he had spent a few tumultuous semesters at Harvard. The passage of time has only made his perceptions more acute. "A university principal who wants his institution to expand," he wrote, "has no alternative except to see it expand in the directions of which one or other of the foundations happens to approve. There may be doubt, or even dissent among the teachers in the institution, but what possible chance has doubt or dissent against a possible gift, of say, a hundred thousand dollars? And how, conceivably, can the teacher whose work fits in with the scheme of the prospective endowment fail to appear more important in the eyes of the principal or his trustees than the teacher for whose subject, or whose views, the foundation has neither interest or liking? . . . What are his chances of promotion if he pursues a path of solitary inquiry in a world of colleges competing for the substantial crumbs which fall from the foundation's table? And, observe, there is not a single point here in which there is the slightest control from, or interference by, the foundation itself. It is merely the fact that a fund is within reach which permeates everything and alters everything. The college develops along the lines the foundation approves. The dependence is merely implicit, but is in fact quite final . . . where the real control lies no one has watched the operation in process can possibly doubt."

On paper, the contemporary American system of higher education looks wonderfully diverse, a vast pluralistic sea of independent academic communities. There are more than 2000 institutuions of higher education in America, 800 publicly supported and 1400 private. Half the publicly supported colleges are district or city schools, and two-thirds of the private institutions are denominational. If higher education were in practice anything like its appearance on paper, then despite the historical evolution of the university, its links to wealth and the ability of the foundations to dominate its innovational areas, the sheer quantiy of insitutions would cause the foundation largesse to be spread so thin that its influence would evaporate.

The fact is, however, that the American system of higher education is a highly centralized, pyramidal structure in which the clearly defined escalating heights intellectually dominate the levels below. Perhaps the most tangible indication of the rigid hierarchy which characterizes the academic community is the concentration of PhD programs in select prestige centers at the apex of the pyramid. For the PhD is at once a validating credential and the certificate of entry into the academic profression. It also represents an ardious apprenticeship in the accepted principles and acceptable perspectives of academic scholarship; it defines the methodological and ideological horizons which command academic respect and with which the "professional" operates.

Although there are over 2000 colleges and universities in America, 75 per cent of the PhD's are awarded in a mere 25 of them, insitutions which constitute a Vatican of the higher learning, the ultimate court of what can and what cannot be legitimately pursued within the academic church. Most of these select universities — Harvard, Yale, Princeton, the University of Chicago, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, Stanford, MIT, Cornell — had emerged as dominant institutions by the advent of World War I. Together with such latecomers as the University of California, they form a relatively tight-knit intellectual establishment. As David Riesman and Christopher Jencks observe in their study, The Academic Revolution: "Thse universities have long been remarkably similar in what they encourage and value. They turn out PhD's who, despite conspicuous discipline covers, how it should be taught, and how its frontiers should be advanced."

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Our news services report a commercial breakthrough for the "with-it" student. For those students who are too wise to get 'busted' but still wish to have a certain air of respectability about them, Fairfield Chemical Corp. announces the introduction of a new aerosol spray. This spray, whose smell is indistinguishable from cannabis (or marijuana), is suitable for deodorizing large areas as well as personal hygiene. A noted firm of market researchers had the following comment: "This new deodorant spray is a must for the average student. Those who lacked the prestige of a pot-smoke filled room can now have all the advantages previously granted their more adventuresome colleagues without any of the disadvantages."

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Following the student seizure of Harvard's University Hall last spring, Time Magazine reported that Harvard Dean Franklin L. Ford "emphasized that continued rifling of University files could have comprised virtually the entire faculty." This mind-bogging admission (offered in defense of the swift unleasing of police) is but one measure of how far academia has fallen from the ideal of open, critical, independent scholarship.

The universities were once thought to constitute a vital, independent, countervailing estate, but the modern university has been converted into an Office of External Research for the State Department, the Pentagon and the international corporations. The postwar takeover of the university was accomplished with less finess and reserve than a corporate conglomerate customarily shows a newly acquired subsidiary, and it is symbolic that the new management team that was to reorganize the university from "within" was drawn largely from the unlikely and forbidding ranks of the crack American World War II intelligence arm, the OSS (Office of Strategic Services).

The university is proverbially the most conservative of institutions — tradition-bound, unable to respond and adapt to changing times. But under the postwar tutelage of its powerful outside mentors, entirely new academic fields of social and political science have been created, which cut effortlessly across traditional academic lines and prerogatives that have so hampered innovations in, for example, black studies. These new international policy disciplines and "area studies" (e.g., Asian Studies) were provided with an avalanche of facilities — buildings, libraries, computer technology. Staffs and faculties wee assembled granted unprecedented autonomy and exalted in one jump to a kind of penthouse status in the academic hierarchy. They were provided freedom and levrage by abundant outside financing. With all of this backing, they quickly became the most powerful influence on the old horse-and-buggy departments, whose disciplines and concepts of scholarship began to follow the winning model set before them .

Thus the experts in international affairs, the new Adams of academe, were created. They were housed in the new language and area studies institutes and centers which multiplied from a handful before the war to 191 by 1968. Their power within the universities has grown apace. At Berkeley, for instance, a political science professor estimates that one-third of his department's faculty depend on institutes for part of their income.

The academic Genesis of the new professionalism is significant not only for what it reveals about the university, but for what is shows about the institutional Creators. The details of this history provide a unique insight into the operations of these institutions of power and their personnel, interests and requirments. For here they were knitting the sinews of mpire — the research, the civil servants, the technicians, the ideology, the whole fabric which binds together the imperial whole and reveals the structure of empire itself.

The Second World War, and its aftermath the collapse of the French, Dutch, German and Japanese empires, opened the way for a new global American imperium which required a vast new "service" and policy-oriented intellctual infrastructure — the kind for which England was famous, but which America lacked. Organizations like the foundation-financed Council on Foreign Relations, a key ruling class policy organization which had come into prominence during the war (see Ramparts, April 1968), served as the long-range planning bodies for foreign policy. What was needed now was a reservoir of information and talent at the intermediate levels: the technicians and middle management of empire.

During the war itself, intellectuals could be mobilized directly into government. Academia naturally put itself at the service of Washington, most dramatically in the Manhattan Project, but in some ways more significantly through the OSS, the seed of the fantastic postwar symbiosis which developed between the military, the state, international business and the university. After the war the same academic energies were mobilized indirectly, based in the university yet acting as a junior partner in U.S. foreign policy. The academic vehicle for all this was the new discipline of International Studies. It was a bit like moving offices.

This transition from extraordinary war mobilization to permanent academic function was engineered not by the military or the scholars, however, but by the foundations, as is made clear in a U.S. Office of Education report on Language and Area Centers (the subdivisions of International Studies). After reviewing the immense sums spent on establishing the programs by the Rockefeller, Carnegie and other Foundations ($34 million between 1945 and 1948 alone), the report declares: "It must be noted that the significance of the money granted is out of all proportion to the amounts involved since **most universities would have no center program had they not been subsidized. Our individual inventories indicate clearly the lack of enthusiasm as well as of cash on the part of most college administrations for such programs."** (Emphasis added.)

The significance of foundation grants today, 25 years after the launching of the first programs, is as great as ever. In 11 of the 12 top universities with institutes of international studies, a single foundation, Ford, is the principal source of funds . . .

To be sure, there were always scholars willing to play a role in the development of the international studies programs. And there was no compulsion — a professor is always free to undertake any project that somebody is willing to pay for. There are excellent scholars of all stripes and persuasions, capable of forming all kinds of programs. Only some get to do so. And it certainly helps if the big foundations happen to share your interests — or you theirs. **In the control of scholarship by wealth, it is neither necessary nor desirable that professors hold a certain orientation because they receive a grant. The important thing is that they receive the grant because they hold the orientation. (Exceptions in the case of isolated radical individuals, of course, do nothing to counter the momemtum and direction imparted by vast funding programs to a whole profession or discipline . . .**

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